Spatial Mobility and Neighborhood Shifts in L.A. County: A Narrative

Christopher Hendrix
Forecast Fellow, UCLA Anderson Forecast
June 2024

Abstract

Gentrification has gained large amounts of traction in recent years, resulting in it being synonymous with connotations both good and bad. As a changing America prompts development in business both public and private, this would most assuredly affect factors such as demographics, regional economy, wages, and other underlying variables, a true measure of the country's social stratification. What determines an individual's position in society from an economic standpoint? The level of education, apprenticeships, and connections are of many variations, not one size fits all. This study explores the relationship between gentrification and social mobility in Los Angeles County during the 21st century. I surmise that spatial relationships play a determinant role in the way human beings adapt and develop gentrification. I utilize and analyze data from the American Community Survey to generate descriptive statistics on social and economic changes in response to gentrification. I utilize and analyze data from the American Community Survey to generate descriptive statistics on social and economic changes in response to gentrification with the help of Artificial Intelligence (AI).

Problem Statement

The looming housing uncertainty casts a shadow over various aspects of political and social life in California, and it poses a significant challenge for both government and public stakeholders. With the state's population on the rise, there has been a glaring shortage of housing units to accommodate these sweeping demographic changes, leading to frustration among residents and businesses alike. More specifically, gentrification has emerged as a complex phenomenon, impacting communities in both positive and negative ways. When examining neighborhoods within Los Angeles County, it is important to explore how gentrification affects long-standing residents. The neighborhoods of Leimert Park, Boyle Heights, Baldwin Hills, Highland Park, Ladera Heights, and Echo Park are the focal areas of this study."

Literature Review

Introduction:

Research on the exact definition of Gentrification has been mixed, by various researchers with their own methodologies and ways of categorizing the phenomenon and the variables in between (Smith, 2020). Gentrification refers to a shift in a given neighborhood, city, or area, mainly taking hold in the infrastructure, economic, and social dynamics of the community. Furthermore, Gale (2021) highlights two central ways of categorizing gentrification: One involves an Urban Renewal/Development of sorts, which aims to bring in new investors and property developers in an otherwise blighted community; with the second category known as Embryonic gentrification (sustained) focuses on rehabilitating such areas. Individuals of higher socioeconomic status (SES) may move in, and with that growing demand for improved conditions is prioritized. Many approaches have come about in attempting to highlight key determinants of gentrification via immigration, financial policy, and even perhaps a 'geography of gentrification which includes many variables (Lees, 2000). For this study, gentrification is the restructuring of neighborhoods/communities by an influx of economic forces that spark socioeconomic development, usually in the form of infrastructural changes e.g. Housing, Businesses, Parks, etc.

Factors:

Individuals create and make decisions based on their own preferred economic and social desires, coined by Herbert Simon's Bounded Rationality theory.[1] Robbett (2014) points out the ways in which individuals, when factors such as local taxes and expenditures suit them, shall move accordingly, thus converging with individuals who share the same sentiments. Robbett's reference is a good indicator of understanding the ways in which people move to various geographic locations that best meet their needs, related to gentrification in the way one can either be enticed to a certain area or essentially 'kicked out' in the form of displacement.

There is evidence to even show that changing demographics in a city with a predominantly racial/ethnic composition alters the varying effects gentrification has on that city's populace, through the effects of public policy (Hwang, 2015). From a legal sense, gentrification has come as an offset of public policy through acts involving state and federal statutes, through 'old laws' which inevitably affected communities of color. Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co. (1926) was the first landmark case that emphasized the federal government and states police power with respect to zoning laws and land use planning (Dubin, 1993). Suffice to say, this dilemma has had a spillover effect in the shaping of communities, both socially and economically, to the potential ire of disadvantaged groups.

Gentrification on its own also does not guarantee structural renewal, as indicated by immigration influxes of Hispanics within predominantly black communities, with little to no tangible change aside from population. This is only positively correlated with White and Asian neighbors, thus raising cultural/racial questions (Hwang, 2016). It has been shown the need for increasing housing supply and accommodation policies will do more for the displacement and ease of homeowners and renters alike. Furthermore, children in gentrified neighborhoods can take advantage of the social and financial capital these shifts inevitably bring. This can sometimes run contrary to the belief of displacement, as in various cases, it comes more to in-migration than the direct displacement of communities (Brummett & Reed, 2019).

The need for affordable housing and California's growing homeless population has caused great controversy, with housing infrastructure being halted at twists and turns in the legal realm. Well-intentioned regulations are often used by neighborhood groups to further delay projects, due to a variety of reasons. It was noted that "The California Environmental Quality Act, for example, was written to protect green areas from pollution and degradation . . . Its main effect today is making urban housing more expensive. It has added millions of dollars of extra costs to a sorely needed high-rise on an empty parking lot on Market Street in downtown San Francisco." Housing lawsuits also have the unspoken truth of taking place in communities that are wealthier, ethnically white, and healthier communities. This stalling of infrastructure projects increasingly delays output in battling California's housing shortage (Hernandez, 2018).

There also arises the conversation surrounding encouraged gentrification vis a vis a form of 'social mixing.' This extends into the phenomenon of middle-upper-class renters/owners moving into predominantly low-income areas. This crosses into gentrification without displacement, opting for an inward approach to changing neighborhoods both economically and socially. It was found that there was no general net positive in neoliberal policies and market-centered strategies that 'force' social mix between economic classes. Researchers alluded to further analysis needing to be undertaken for finding a best-fit approach in examining the lived experiences of those affected both from within their community, and the macroeconomic pressures from the outside world (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015).

The gentrifying of low-income neighborhoods also provides insight into the preferences of communities, as indicated by in-migration patterns. On a descriptive level, these changes in neighborhoods have caught the attention of middle-class black households, with children and/or elderly household members. This may be due to the income gains and community renewals that generally coincide with such changes. On the other hand, black households with high school education continued to move out of their respective neighborhoods, either due to housing price dynamics and/or the loss of benefit of more ethnically concentrated black neighborhoods as opposed to their racially diverse counterparts.

---

1. Bounded Rationality refers to thought that assumes people pick outcomes and activity based off limited information. When constrained by these factors, they will opt for the 'best' alternative for themselves.
https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/bounded-rationality/

Los Angeles County:

Within a densely populated and economically stratified metropolitan area like Los Angeles County, it is safe to understand the variations and ways such socioeconomic take place. Zukin (2016) highlights three paradigms that cover various narratives of the phenomenon. It has been shown that transit-oriented zones pose a significant change in an area, regarding aspects such as transportation and business, but do not necessarily correlate with gentrification (Chapple et. al., 2017). One individual noted "Los Angeles is really 20 or 30 cities awkwardly glued together" and this holds true for both its racial, cultural, and economic stratification (Kamin, 2019). LA County is arguably one of America's most socially stratified regions, serving as a model for policy inquiry within local, state, and national government alike. COVID-19 demonstrated what happens when protocols inflict great financial stress on renters.

Non-discriminating in its effects, it still is easy to say with certainty the grave consequences renters dealt with as opposed to their homeowner counterparts. The loss of income and jobs further pushes demographics e.g. Black and Hispanic, into lower socioeconomic brackets (Manville et. al., 2020). In terms of job access, individuals who live within a certain proximity to rail stations have various outcomes e.g. high-income households who move near a rail station have higher job access, households with more dependents

Figure. 1[2]

suffer a deficit when moving into rail stations, and households who move further away from rail stations receive less job access. This is related to rail stations' connection with downtown areas with high financial centers and those with specific skills and capital to find more opportunities and career advancement (Boarnet et. al., 2020).

Public Policy Approaches:

The vast Millennial generation's coming of age has driven up demand for more rental properties. Add to that the impact of would-be homeowners who have been diverted into rentals and are stuck there simply because of a shortage of feasible options. Meanwhile, existing homeowners and renters seek to keep their current homes, requiring additional housing in total to accommodate the growth. As the undersupply of rental housing increases, this has what is called a 'cascade of demand' where the dislodgement of renters will greatly affect those already in disadvantaged sectors (Myers et. al., 2019).

Federal laws primarily from the United States Department of Urban and Housing Development (HUD) have devised various strategies to mitigate housing displacement and homelessness. In this arena, context is presented on the federal level, as the combinations of supply and demand, price controls, housing costs burdens, and restrictive regulation policy have caused a crisis to proliferate, most notably in California. In the spirit of preserving affordable housing (AH), HUD created the Rental Assistance Demonstration in 2013 (RAD), aimed at preserving low-income households and properties. This caused over 2 billion in private funding to be invested, residents continue to pay 30% of income towards rent, and the RAD program is cost neutral, thus not stressing HUD's budget. On top of this, the federal level also encourages state and local governments alike to be innovative and proactive in their toolkits. Cross collaborations in the grant distribution process among municipalities and proper strategic planning are forecasted options for tackling this crisis (O'Regan, 2016).

Neighborhoods:

Within these zip codes, there are communities which have developed and shifted through the times, as Los Angeles continued to expand. Below will be a quick glimpse of these neighborhoods, their composition, and history.

Leimert Park:

Centered East of Baldwin Hills, these 230 acres of land were bought to compensate for middle class White Americans, alongside racial and ethnic restrictions. Targeted buyers usually had an income between \$3,000-4,000.[3] The Master Plan included crafting avenues, boulevards, and other road ways were made to form aesthetically pleasing views of the neighborhoods and surrounding city. The Leimert Company, led by Walter Leimert, aimed at improving community infrastructure, with some including but not limited to miles of streets and sidewalk, underground utilities, 5,000 trees, and family homes (Starkey, 2019). Census (2000) reports that the population stood at 11,782, consisting of African American (79.6%), White-hispanic/latino (11.4%), Asian (4.6%), and White non-hispanic (1.2%).[4] The medium household income (2008 dollars) was \$45,865, and 21.9% of residents over 25 had a four year degree (L.A. Times, Mapping, n.d..).

Boyle Heights:

Founded in 1870, this neighborhood, named for its namesake, Andrew A. Boyle, land was the basis for the new community. Even for its time, the neighborhood contained diversity of ethnic family groups, (as noted in a 1940 neighborhood census) ranging from Latino, Jewish, Japanese, Chinese, and Anglo-Saxons. Hollenbeck park, a centralized zone within the neighborhood was backed and funded primarily for the beautification and enhancement of the area. This came in the wake of a "city beautiful" movement that encouraged oases like infrastructures in urban environments. Economic woes and depressions throughout the 1890's made financial commitments by Los Angeles city slow, but eventually manageable (Boyle Heights Historical Society, n.d.). Census (2000) reported the population at 92,756, consisting of White Hispanic/Latino (94%), Asian (2.4%), White non-Hispanic (2.0%), and African American (0.9%). Medium household income stood at \$33,235 (2008 dollars), and 5.0% of residents 25 and older had a four-year degree (L.A. Times, Mapping, n.d..).

Baldwin Hills:

Beginning in the 1920's the area which became Baldwin Hills was a myriad of Hills situated along oil fields, causing conflict. Developers capitalized off the area's panoramic

---

3. *For example, the month of January, in the year 1940, $3000-4,000 adjusted for January 2023 accounts to $64,569-86,092.09 in buying power respectively. See CPI Inflation Calculator.*
4. *I have taken the liberty in omitting for neighborhood demographics the 'Other' component as to not make assumptions regarding the population around smaller ethnic/racial groups.*

view of greater Los Angeles, with the Los Angeles Times noting "the growth of the city will result in the development of the Baldwin Hills of a residential district comparable to Hollywood and Beverly hills." Racial integration took off at a much faster rate in this area, due to the offset of the 1950's Supreme Court case striking down racial covenants, to the advantage of affluent black families who were confined to the areas surrounding Central Avenue. The hills provided access to resources stripped or alienated from other parts of the city, to the dismay of White residents . In the modern day, it's close proximity to city highlights such as So-FI stadium and The Forum provide much appeal socially, culturally, and financially (Meares, 2023). Census (2000) reports that the population stood at 30,123, consisting of African American (71.3%), White-Hispanic/Latino (17.3%), Asian (4.7%), and White non-Hispanic (3.3%). The medium household income (2008 dollars) is $37,948, and 24.1% of residents over 25 had a four year degree (L.A. Times, Mapping, n.d..).

Highland Park:

When the train came through in 1885, the first interurban electric railway went through in 1895, a highway was built, the area that had previously been home to native tribes, the San Gabriel Mission, and Mexican ranchos (huge land grants given out by the Mexican government before California became a part of the U.S.) transformed into a commuter community, according to KCET. Even though it was still mostly utilized for farming and sheepherding in the 1840s, settlements began to emerge. The first house tract was being marketed by the early 1880s. In 1895, the region was formally incorporated into L.A. It serves as Occidental College's residence (KCET, 2010). Census (2000) reported that it had a population of 57,566, consisting predominantly of White-Hispanics/Latino (72.4%), White non-Hispanics (11.3%), Asian (11.2%), and African American (2.4%). It's medium household income was also $45,478 (2008 dollars), and only 14.3% of individuals 25 and older had a 4 year degree (L.A. Times, Mapping, n.d..).

Echo Park:

One of the mainstays of the counterculture movement of the 1960's, Echo Park served as a place for artist and communists in the pre-WWII America (Kamin, 2019). It served as a central destination for films in the early silent cinema era in Hollywood, alongside its distinct architecture (American

Planning Association, 2008). Census (2000) reported that it had a population of 40,455, consisting predominantly of White-Hispanics/Latino (64.0%), Asian (18.8%), White non-Hispanics (12.9%), and African American (2.0%). It's medium household income (2008 dollars) was $37,708 , and only 18.0% of individuals 25 and older had a 4 year degree (L.A. Times, Mapping, n.d..).

Ladera Heights:

In 1946, the City of Los Angeles area on Condon Avenue saw the development of the first homes in the Ladera Heights residential complex. Home plots in both the City and County of Los Angeles were part of the original region. Contractor J.J. Dupac constructed many of the homes. In the 1950s and 1960s, as the housing development grew to the west of La Cienega, the original location came to be known as "Old Ladera" by the locals (LA Council District 11, n.d.). Census (2000) reported that it had a population of 6,509, consisting predominantly of White-Hispanics/Latino (3.3%), Asian (3.3%), White non-Hispanics (19.1%), and African American (71.0%). It's medium household income (2008 dollars) was $117,925 , and only 53.4% of individuals 25 and older had a 4 year degree (L.A. Times, Mapping, n.d..).

Data and Methods:

Provided will be a descriptive statistical analysis of demographic data, examined between 2011 and 2021, post-recession. Data was collected from the American Community Survey Time- Series in nature, I will compare demographic compositions, financial indexes surrounding home price, age of residents, and socioeconomic status. Through this lens, the evaluation of neighborhood shifts ten years apart will shine light on spatial mobility and shifts vis a vis gentrification. Data was collected under 4 distinct data sets: Social Characteristics, Economic Characteristics, Housing Characteristics, and Demographic/Housing Estimates, through the American Community Survey (ACS). My principal measure of gentrification will be in terms of household income distribution, comparing the bottom and top 3 data points respectively. I will utilize Excel to analyze bar chart data and create descriptive statistics to convey community gentrifying qualities, if any. The Zip Codes are as follows: 90001, 90008, 90023, 90026, 90033, 90041, 90042, 90056, 90063, 90230. Some neighborhoods contained multiple zip codes which prompted them to be clustered together.

---

5. *Resident Anne Thompson, said in rebuttal of a white resident claiming Black attempting to 'act white':*
"This my dear lady, is why we move into 'white neighborhoods,'" she wrote. Black "mothers have the same aspirations for their offspring as Caucasian mothers — the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness — in the best possible environment, with the very best preparation for adult life possible."
6. *I have taken the liberty in omitting for neighborhood demographics the 'Other' component as to not make assumptions regarding the population around smaller ethnic/racial groups.*

## Results:

Economic Characteristics

Income Distribution

Income distribution in the years 2011 and 2021 within Zip code **90008** demonstrates the following changes: For those earning under $10,000, the percentages decreased from 7.2% to 5.6% over the decade, while those in the $10,000 to $14,999 bracket reduced from 6.4% to 2.5%. In the $15,000 to $24,999 bracket, there was a decrease from 13% to 8.4%. The $25,000 to $34,999 income group exhibited a decline from 8.3% to 6%. Income distribution between $35,000 to $49,999 decreased slightly from 15.8% to 13.2%, while the $50,000 to $74,999 group decreased from 16.5% to 14.6%. The $75,000 to $99,999 category showed a decrease from 14.2% to 11.9%, and the $100,000 to $149,999 bracket increased from 10.5% to 15.5%. For the $150,000 to $199,999 group, the percentages shifted from 4.7% to 8.8%, and the $200,000 or more category increased from 3.5% to 13.5%.

These alterations indicate modest changes in income distribution, particularly in the mid-upper percentile brackets, likely influenced by regular inflation and increased cost of living. Conversely, those earning $49,000 and below experienced declines, suggesting a potential shift from one income bracket to another.

In Zip code **90001**, income distribution in 2011 and 2021 revealed the following alterations: Those earning less than $10,000 saw percentages decrease from 8.3% to 5.1%, while the $10,000 to $14,999 category decreased from 8.4% to 3.1%. The $15,000 to $24,999 group decreased from 16.5% to 8.1%, and the $25,000 to $34,999 bracket changed from 15.6% to 13.2%. The $35,000 to $49,999 income group saw a decrease from 17.5% to 15.3%, while the $50,000 to $74,999 category decreased from 16.5% to 23.3%. The $75,000 to $99,999 group decreased from 9.4% to 15.5%, and the $100,000 to $149,999 bracket changed from 6.3% to 10.9%. The $150,000 to $199,999 group shifted from 0.9% to 4.3%, and the $200,000 or more category shifted from 0.6% to 1.2%.

A decade-long examination of income distribution in Zip code **90023** from 2011 to 2021 reveals a dynamic interplay of economic changes within this area. This time series analysis explores the shifting percentages of residents in various income brackets and their evolution over the specified ten-year period.

In 2011, the income distribution showed that 9.40% of residents earned less than $10,000. Over the decade, this percentage experienced a notable decline, falling to 5.10% by 2021. This decrease highlights a substantial shift in the lower-income

Income Distribution in Zip Code 90008
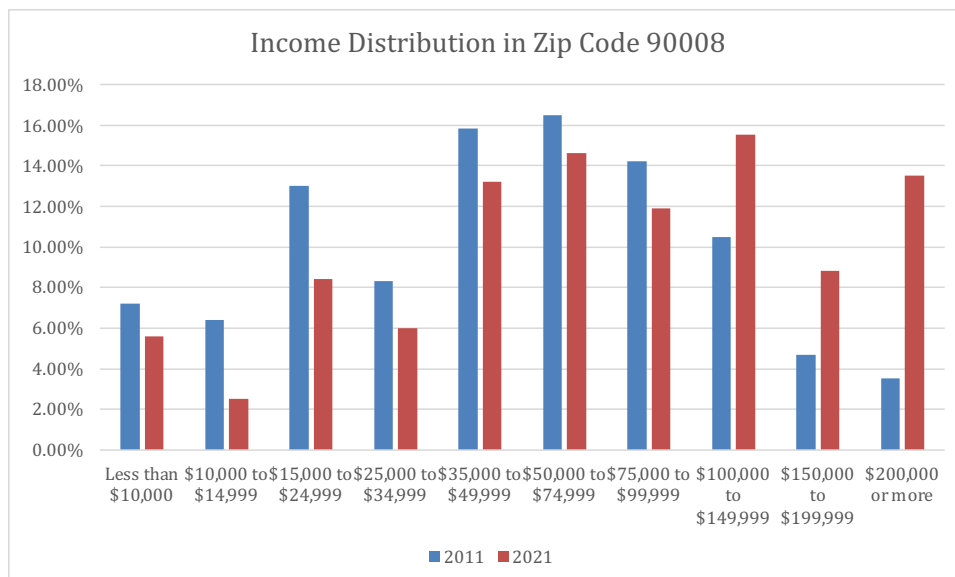
category, possibly influenced by local economic conditions and factors like inflation. Similarly, the $10,000 to $14,999 bracket also saw a decrease from 6.70% in 2011 to 4.20% in 2021. This reduction suggests a downward movement in this income bracket, aligning with the overall trend observed in lower-income groups in Zip code 90023. The $15,000 to $24,999 category displayed a decline from 18.50% in 2011 to 8.60% in 2021, indicating a substantial change in the composition of income levels within this bracket. These trends are consistent with economic shifts, suggesting potential alterations in employment opportunities and income sources for residents.

In the $25,000 to $34,999 bracket, the percentage shifted from 17.10% in 2011 to 12.00% in 2021, showcasing a decrease in income levels within this group. A similar decline was observed in the $35,000 to $49,999 bracket, which shifted from 17.20% to 19.30% over the decade, signifying a potential economic transition. The $50,000 to $74,999 income bracket remained relatively stable, with minor fluctuations from 19.00% in 2011 to 19.20% in 2021. This stability indicates that a substantial portion of residents maintained their income levels within this range. Notably, the $75,000 to $99,999 category saw a significant increase from 6.50% in 2011 to 17.20% in 2021, reflecting a notable shift in income distribution towards the upper percentile.

Finally, the highest income bracket of $200,000 or more also exhibited growth, with the percentage increasing from 0.10% in 2011 to 1.80% in 2021. While this category represents a small portion of the population, it suggests the emergence of a higher-income segment within the community.
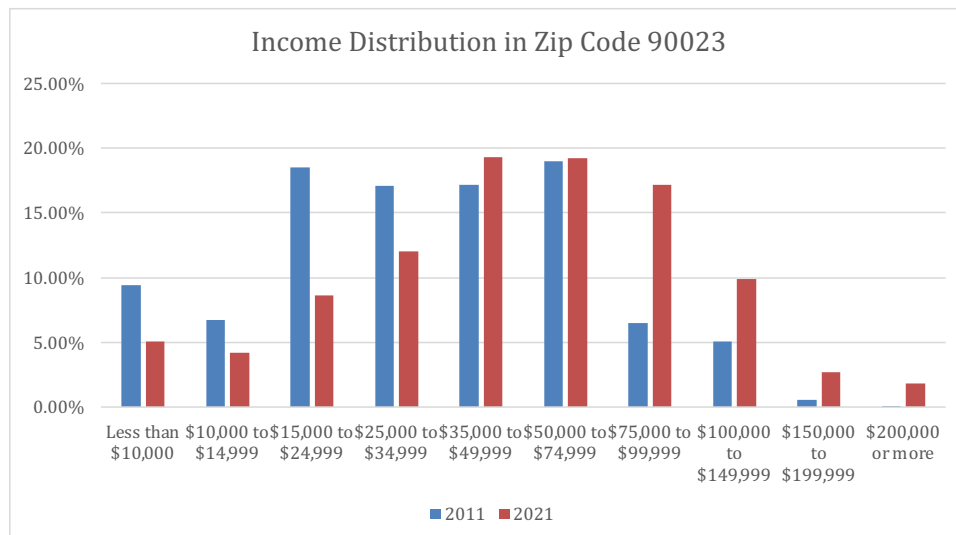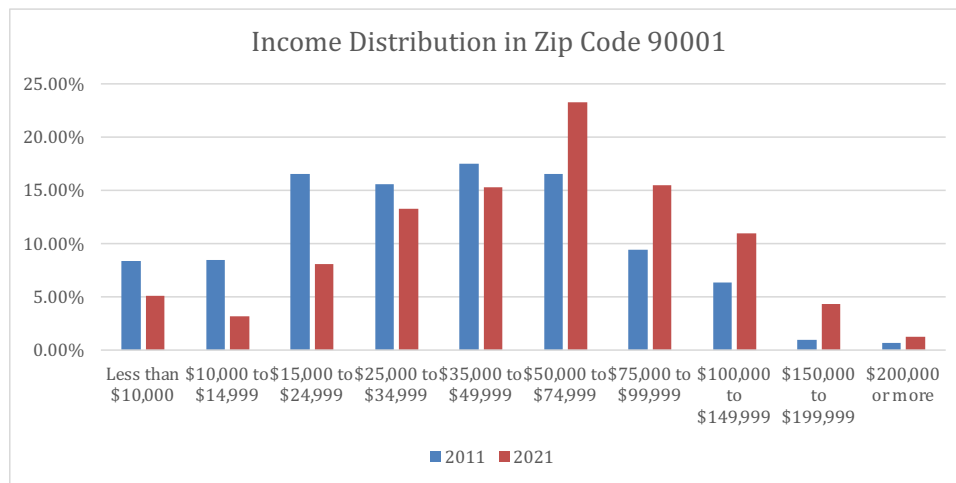
90026

Stability in the Lower-Income Brackets: The percentage of residents in the "Less than $10,000" bracket remained relatively stable, with a slight increase from 4.90% in 2011 to 5.00% in 2021. This stability may be attributed to a consistent representation of individuals in lower-income segments in the community. Significant Reduction in the $10,000 to $14,999 Bracket:

One of the most striking observations is the substantial reduction in the " $10,000 to $14,999" bracket, declining from 5.80% in 2011 to 3.10% in 2021. This decrease reflects a notable shift away from this income category, possibly indicating changes in the socioeconomic composition of the population. Dramatic Decrease in the $15,000 to $24,999 Bracket:

The " $15,000 to $24,999" bracket saw a significant drop in representation, moving from 14.90% in 2011 to 8.50% in 2021. This indicates a pronounced decrease in residents within this income range and suggests the emergence of different economic realities for a substantial portion of the population. Shift in the $25,000 to $34,999 Bracket: Similarly, the " $25,000 to $34,999" bracket experienced a noticeable decrease, declining from 13.90% in 2011 to 8.00% in 2021. This points to a shift in income distribution, with a smaller proportion of residents in this bracket. Stability in the Middle-Income Brackets: The middle-income brackets, specifically the "$35,000 to $49,999" and "$50,000 to $74,999" categories, demonstrated a relatively stable distribution with marginal changes. This stability in income levels suggests a consistent representation of middle-income households within the zip code.

Growth in Higher-Income Brackets: Conversely, the higher-income brackets saw notable growth over the decade. The "$100,000 to $149,999" and "$150,000 to $199,999" categories both exhibited increases, with the former rising from 10.20% in 2011 to 15.20% in 2021 and the latter increasing from 4.40% to 8.40%. Additionally, the " $200,000 or More" bracket displayed substantial growth, jumping from 2.70% in 2011 to 12.30% in 2021. This growth suggests the emergence of a more affluent segment within the community.

Income Distribution in Zip Code 90026
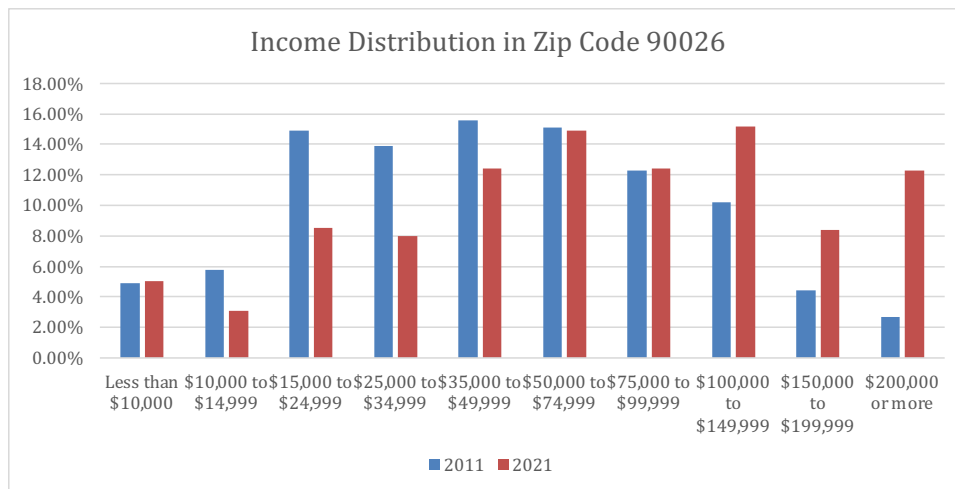
90033

Stability in the Lower-Income Brackets:

The "Less than $10,000" and "$10,000 to $14,999" brackets remained relatively stable in Zip code 90033. While both exhibited reductions, they continued to represent significant portions of the population. The "Less than $10,000" bracket decreased from 11.00% in 2011 to 7.00% in 2021, while the "$10,000 to $14,999" bracket moved from 8.00% to 4.10%. This stability in the lower-income brackets suggests that a substantial portion of the community continues to face economic challenges.

Notable Decrease in Middle-Income Brackets:

The middle-income brackets, including the "$15,000 to $24,999," "$25,000 to $34,999," and "$35,000 to $49,999" categories, saw significant reductions in their percentages. These changes, such as the "$15,000 to $24,999" bracket decreasing from 18.60% to 10.60%, reflect a substantial shift away from these income ranges. This might indicate economic challenges or the displacement of middle-income households.

Growth in Upper-Middle and Higher-Income Brackets:

Conversely, the upper-middle and higher-income brackets experienced notable growth over the decade. The "$50,000 to $74,999," "$75,000 to $99,999," and "$100,000 to $149,999" brackets all showed increases, with some demonstrating substantial growth. The "$75,000 to $99,999" bracket, for instance, increased from 6.00% in 2011 to 15.10% in 2021. This suggests a growing population of upper-middle-income households and potentially improved economic opportunities in the area.
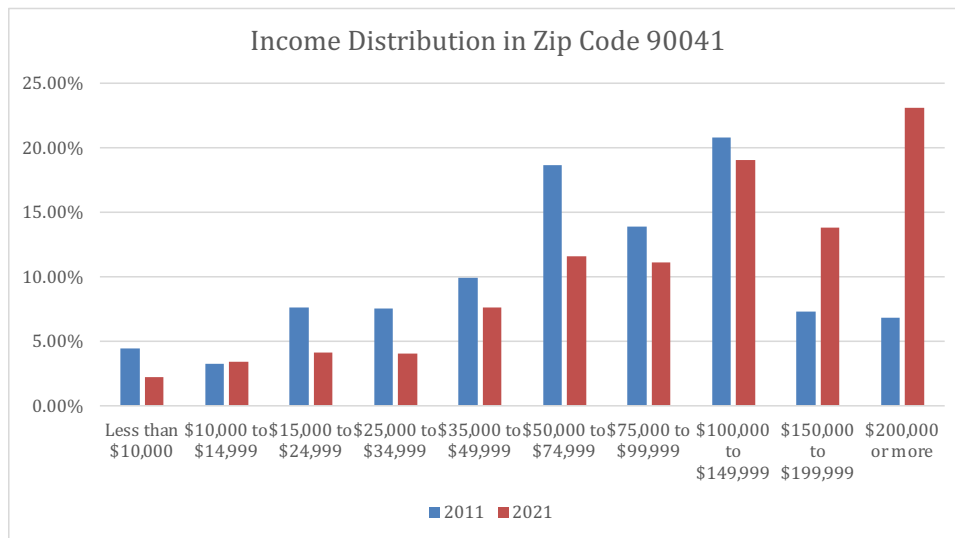

Income Distribution in Zip Code 90033
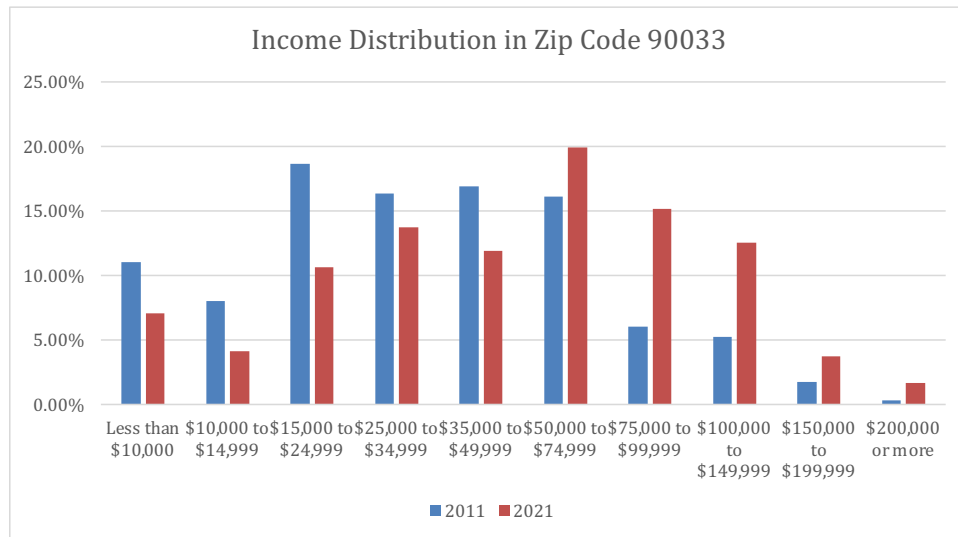
90041

Stability in the Lower-Income Brackets: Zip code 90041 exhibited a degree of stability in the "Less than $10,000" and "$10,000 to $14,999" brackets, although both experienced minor fluctuations. The "Less than $10,000" bracket declined from 4.40% in 2011 to 2.20% in 2021, while the "$10,000 to $14,999" bracket increased slightly from 3.20% to 3.40%. This stability suggests that a significant portion of the community continues to experience economic challenges, although some individuals transitioned to the higher bracket.

Moderate Decrease in Middle-Income Brackets:

The middle-income brackets, particularly the "$15,000 to $24,999," "$25,000 to $34,999," and "$35,000 to $49,999" categories, displayed moderate decreases in their percentages. These changes, such as the "$15,000 to $24,999" bracket decreasing from 7.60% in 2011 to 4.10% in 2021, signify a shift away from these income ranges. It may indicate economic challenges or a transition toward different income segments.

Growth in Upper-Middle and Higher-Income Brackets:

In contrast, Zip code 90041 experienced substantial growth in the upper-middle and higher-income brackets. The "$50,000 to $74,999," "$75,000 to $99,999," and "$100,000 to $149,999" brackets all saw significant increases, with some demonstrating remarkable growth. For instance, the "$75,000 to $99,999" bracket increased from 13.90% in 2011 to 11.10% in 2021, and the "$100,000 to $149,999" bracket rose from 7.30% to 13.80%. This indicates a growing population of upper-middle and higher-income households and potentially improved economic opportunities in the area.

Income Distribution in Zip Code 90041

90042

Stability in the Lower-Income Brackets:

Zip code 90042 exhibited a degree of stability in the "Less than $10,000" and "$10,000 to $14,999" brackets, although both experienced minor fluctuations. The "Less than $10,000" bracket decreased from 4.20% in 2011 to 2.30% in 2021, while the "$10,000 to $14,999" bracket exhibited a reduction from 3.70% to 1.80%. This stability suggests that a significant portion of the community continues to experience economic challenges, although some individuals transitioned to higher income brackets.
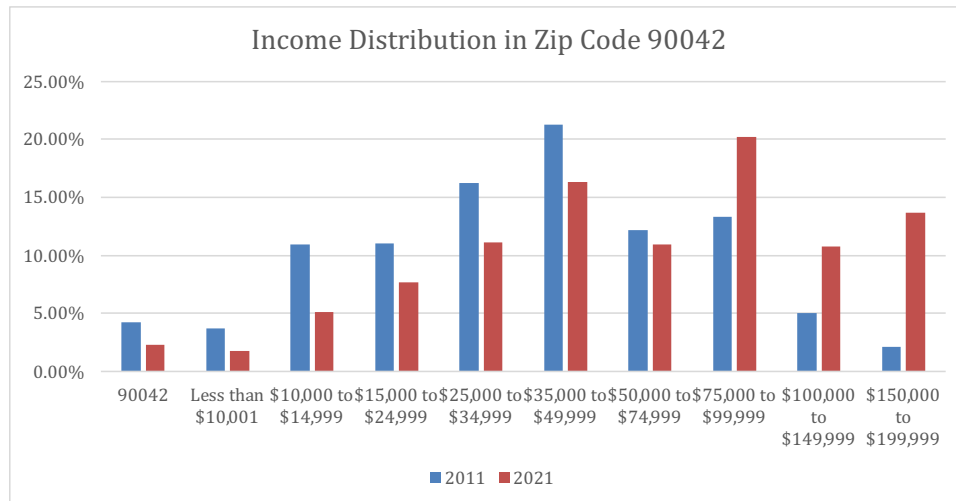
Moderate Decrease in Middle-Income Brackets:

The middle-income brackets, particularly the "$15,000 to $24,999," "$25,000 to $34,999," and "$35,000 to $49,999" categories, displayed moderate decreases in their percentages. These changes, such as the "$15,000 to $24,999" bracket decreasing from 10.90% in 2011 to 5.10% in 2021, signify a shift away from these income ranges. It may indicate economic challenges or a transition toward different income segments.

Growth in Upper-Middle and Higher-Income Brackets:

Conversely, Zip code 90042 experienced substantial growth in the upper-middle and higher-income brackets. The "$50,000 to $74,999," "$75,000 to $99,999," and "$100,000 to $149,999" brackets all saw significant increases, with some demonstrating remarkable growth. For instance, the "$75,000 to $99,999" bracket increased from 13.30% in 2011 to 20.20% in 2021, and the "$100,000 to $149,999" bracket rose from 5.00% to 10.80%. This indicates a growing population of upper-middle and higher-income households and potentially improved economic opportunities in the area.

The growth in the upper-middle and higher-income brackets suggests improved economic opportunities or an influx of more affluent residents. This is a positive sign of economic development, but it must be managed to ensure that it does not lead to the displacement of long-term residents or the loss of socioeconomic diversity.

Income Distribution in Zip Code 90042
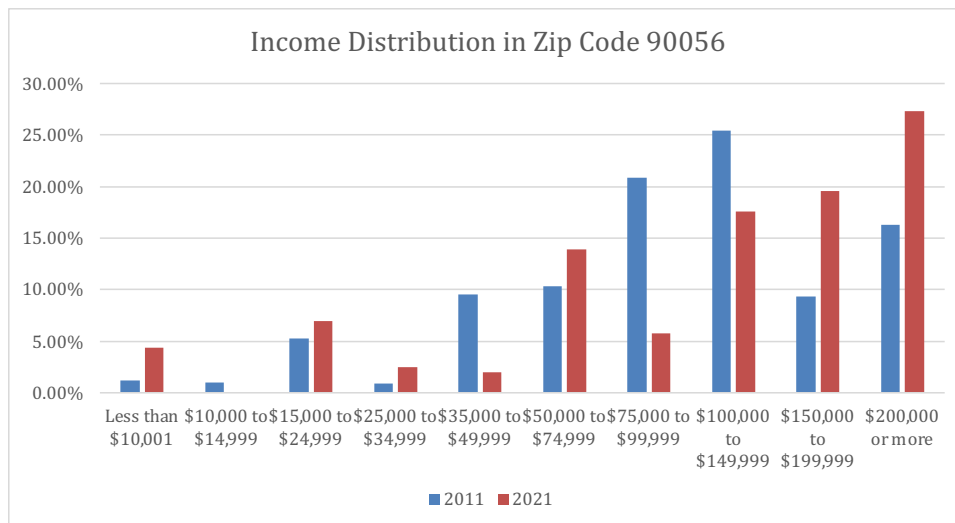
90056

Stability in the Lower-Income Brackets:

Zip code 90042 exhibited a degree of stability in the "Less than $10,000" and "$10,000 to $14,999" brackets, although both experienced minor fluctuations. The "Less than $10,000" bracket decreased from 4.20% in 2011 to 2.30% in 2021, while the "$10,000 to $14,999" bracket exhibited a reduction from 3.70% to 1.80%. This stability suggests that a significant portion of the community continues to experience economic challenges, although some individuals transitioned to higher income brackets.

Moderate Decrease in Middle-Income Brackets:

The middle-income brackets, particularly the "$15,000 to $24,999," "$25,000 to $34,999," and "$35,000 to $49,999" categories, displayed moderate decreases in their percentages. These changes, such as the "$15,000 to $24,999" bracket decreasing from 10.90% in 2011 to 5.10% in 2021, signify a shift away from these income ranges. It may indicate economic challenges or a transition toward different income segments.

Growth in Upper-Middle and Higher-Income Brackets:

Conversely, Zip code 90042 experienced substantial growth in the upper-middle and higher-income brackets. The "$50,000 to $74,999," "$75,000 to $99,999," and "$100,000 to $149,999" brackets all saw significant increases, with some demonstrating remarkable growth. For instance, the "$75,000 to $99,999" bracket increased from 13.30% in 2011 to 20.20% in 2021, and the "$100,000 to $149,999" bracket rose from 5.00% to 10.80%. This indicates a growing population of upper-middle and higher-income households and potentially improved economic opportunities in the area.
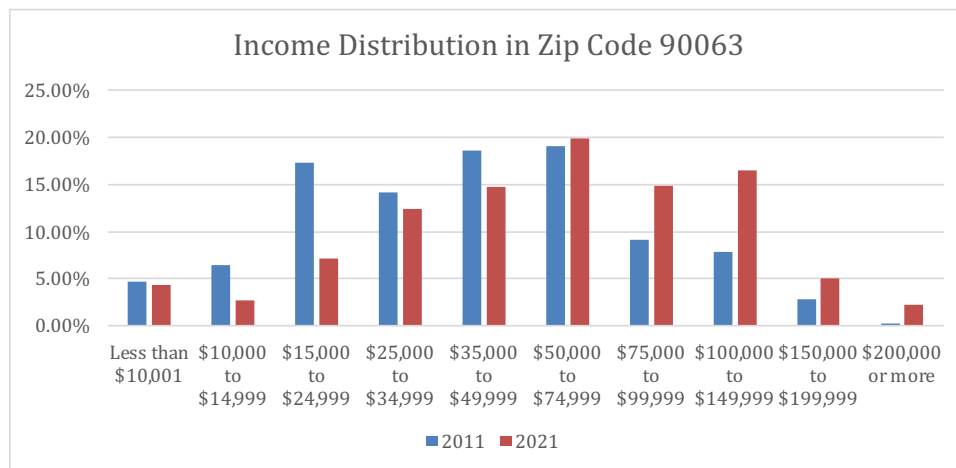

Income Distribution in Zip Code 90056

90063

Stability in the Lower-Income Brackets:

Zip code 90063 displayed stability in the "Less than $10,000" and "$10,000 to $14,999" brackets, with minor fluctuations. The "Less than $10,000" bracket decreased from 4.70% in 2011 to 4.40% in 2021, while the "$10,000 to $14,999" bracket decreased from 6.40% to 2.70%. This suggests that a portion of the community continued to experience economic challenges, while others transitioned to higher income brackets.

Moderate Decrease in Middle-Income Brackets: The " $15,000 to $24,999," "$25,000 to $34,999," and "$35,000 to $49,999" categories demonstrated moderate decreases in their percentages. These changes, such as the "$15,000 to $24,999" bracket decreasing from 17.30% in 2011 to 7.10% in 2021, signify a shift away from these income ranges.

This may indicate economic challenges or a transition toward different income segments. Growth in Upper-Middle and Higher-Income Brackets: Zip code 90063 witnessed growth in the upper-middle and higher-income brackets. The "$50,000 to $74,999," "$75,000 to $99,999," and "$100,000 to $149,999" brackets all showed increases, with the "$100,000 to $149,999" bracket experiencing substantial growth. For instance, the "$100,000 to $149,999" bracket rose from 2.80% in 2011 to 5.10% in 2021, indicating a growing population of higher-income households.

90230

Stability in the Lower-Income Brackets:

Zip code 90230 exhibited a degree of stability in the "Less than $10,000" and "$10,000 to $14,999" brackets, with minor fluctuations. The "Less than $10,000" bracket decreased from 3.50% in 2011 to 1.40% in 2021, while the "$10,000 to $14,999" bracket decreased from 1.70% to 0.60%. This suggests that a portion of the community continued to experience economic challenges, while others transitioned to higher income brackets.

Moderate Decrease in Middle-Income Brackets: The " $15,000 to $24,999," "$25,000 to $34,999," and "$35,000 to $49,999" categories demonstrated moderate decreases in their percentages. These changes, such as the "$15,000 to $24,999" bracket decreasing from 7.50% in 2011 to 4.10% in 2021, signify a shift away from these income ranges.

This may indicate economic challenges or a transition toward different income segments. Growth in Upper-Middle and Higher-Income Brackets:

Zip code 90230 experienced substantial growth in the upper-middle and higher-income brackets. The "$50,000 to $74,999," "$75,000 to $99,999," and "$100,000 to $149,999" brackets all showed increases, with the "$200,000 or more" bracket experiencing remarkable growth. For instance, the "$100,000 to $149,999" bracket rose from 12.50% in 2011 to 15.50% in 2021, and the "$200,000 or more" bracket surged from 10.30% to 27.70%. This indicates a growing population of higher-income households.
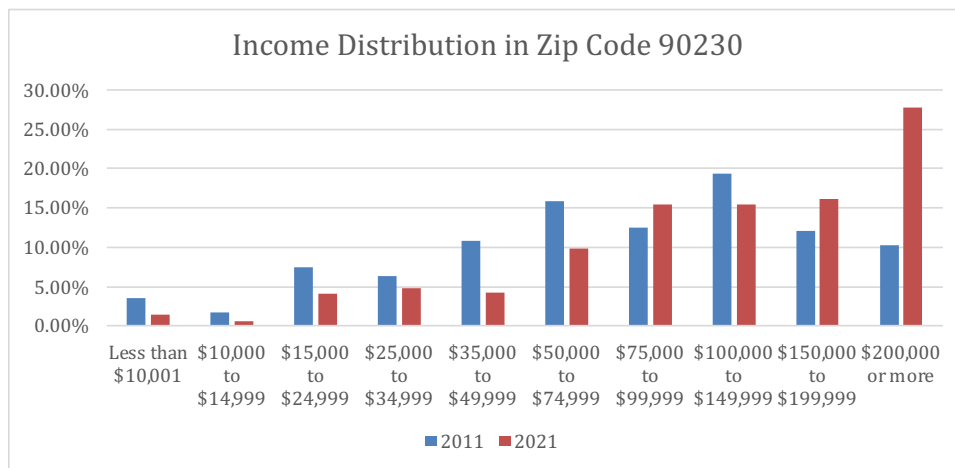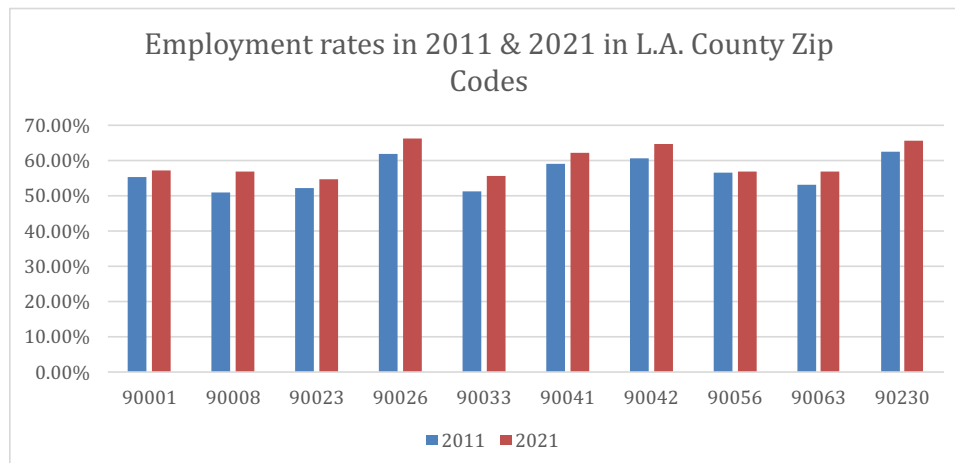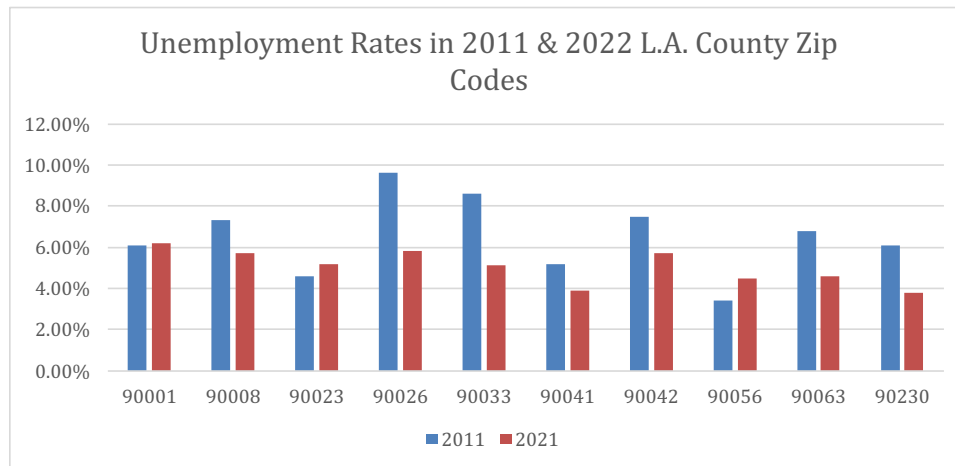
Unemployment Rate

The analysis of unemployment rate fluctuations in various Zip Codes from 2011 to 2021 reveals diverse labor market dynamics. In Zip Code 90001, a marginal increase from 6.1% to 6.2% was observed. Conversely, Zip Code 90008 exhibited a noteworthy decrease, declining from 7.3% to 5.7%. Zip Code 90023 experienced a moderate increase, shifting from 4.6% to 5.2%. In contrast, Zip Code 90026 demonstrated a substantial decrease, plummeting from 9.6% to 5.8%, reflecting a significant improvement in employment opportunities. Similarly, Zip Code 90033 witnessed a notable decrease from 8.6% to 5.1%, indicative of enhanced job prospects. Zip Code 90041 displayed a decrease from 5.2% to 3.9%, signifying a positive trend in the local labor market. Zip Code 90042 followed suit with a positive trend, showcasing a decrease from 7.5% to 5.7%. In Zip Code 90056, a slight increase from 3.4% to 4.5% was noted. Conversely, Zip Code 90063 experienced a substantial decrease, declining from 6.8% to 4.6%. Most notably, Zip Code 90230

displayed a substantial decrease in unemployment, shifting from 6.1% to 3.8%. These findings underscore the diverse employment trends within these areas, influenced by local economic conditions and labor market dynamics.

Employment

The employment rates for the selected Zip Codes in both 2011 and 2021 reveal a mixed picture of changes in workforce participation. In 2011, Zip Codes such as 90026 and 90230 exhibited relatively high employment rates of 61.90% and 62.40%, respectively, indicating a robust labor force. These areas continued to display growth in employment, with Zip Code 90026 rising to 66.00% and Zip Code 90230 to 65.50% by 2021, emphasizing their resilience in maintaining a strong workforce. Conversely, Zip Codes 90033 and 90063 had comparatively lower employment rates in 2011 at 51.10% and 53.00%, respectively. However, they demonstrated noticeable improvements, with employment rates increasing to 55.60% and 56.90% in 2021, suggesting

Unemployment Rates in 2011 & 2022 L.A. County Zip Codes

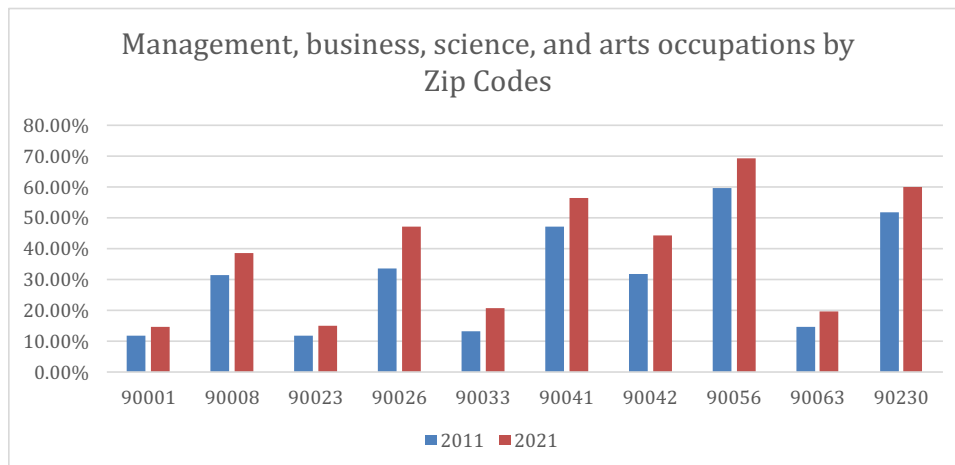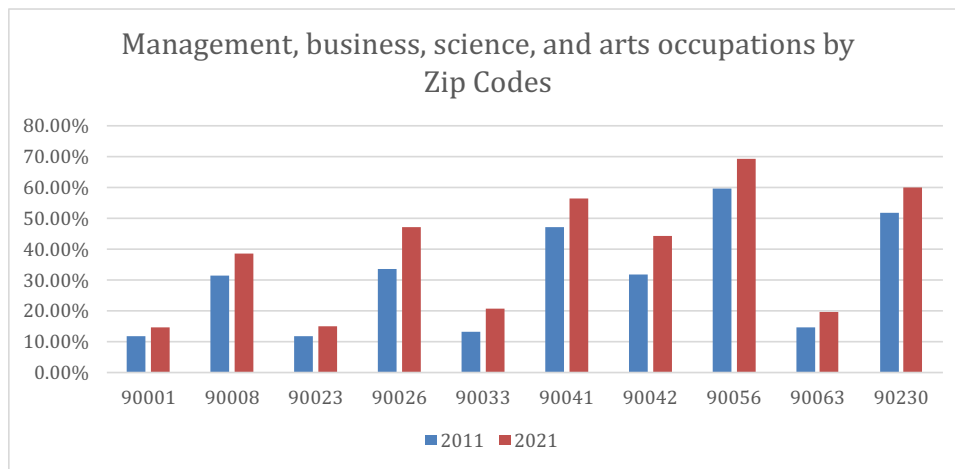Employment rates in 2011 & 2021 in L.A. County Zip Codes

a positive trajectory in workforce participation. Zip Code 90041 started with a relatively high employment rate of 58.80% in 2011, which marginally increased to 62.00% in 2021, reflecting stability in its labor force. In contrast, Zip Code 90008 began with a 50.70% employment rate in 2011 but showed substantial growth, reaching 56.90% in 2021. Zip Codes 90001, 90023, and 90042 also experienced increases in employment rates from 2011 to 2021, demonstrating overall positive trends in workforce engagement within these areas. These variations in employment rates across the Zip Codes reflect the dynamics of local labor markets, with some areas seeing consistent strength, while others show substantial improvements, all contributing to the broader economic landscape.
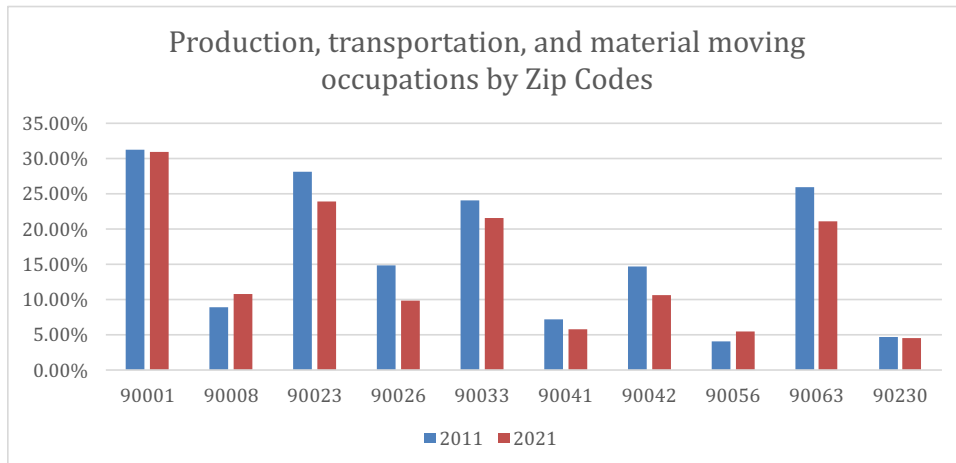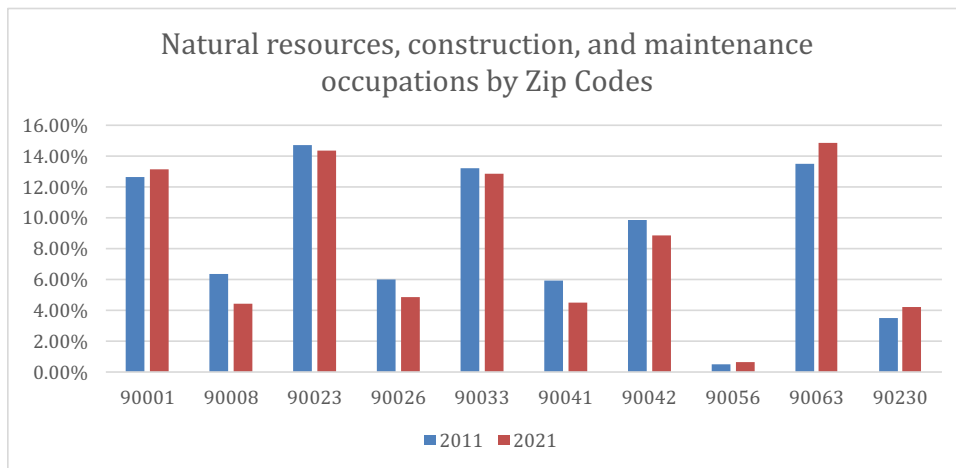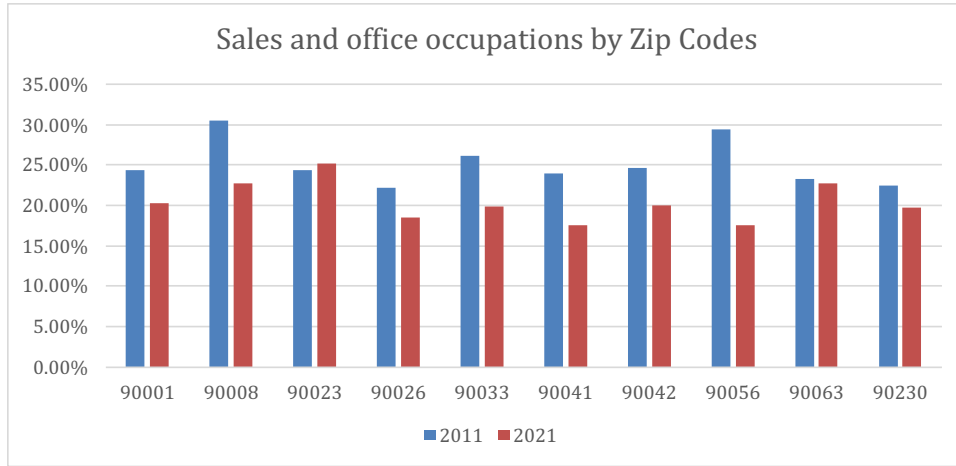
Employment industry

In 2011, employment distribution by industry within various Zip Codes showcased distinct patterns. Zip Codes 90008 and 90056 stood out for their high concentration of workers in

management, business, science, and arts occupations, with percentages reaching 31.30% and 59.50%, respectively. In contrast, Zip Codes 90041, 90042, and 90063 exhibited a more balanced distribution of employment across various industries, with significant representation in service, sales, and office occupations. Additionally, Zip Code 90026 displayed a notable presence of workers in management and related professions, with 33.60%, suggesting a strong focus on these roles. On the other hand, Zip Codes 90001 and 90033 had a diverse mix of employment in various industries, with a relatively lower concentration in management roles. Finally, Zip Codes 90023 and 90230 had a more evenly distributed workforce, with no single industry dominating the employment landscape. These variations in employment distribution underscore the diversity of economic activities within these areas, likely influenced by local economic factors and the availability of job opportunities in different industries.

In 2021, the employment distribution by industry within the specified Zip Codes exhibited notable changes com-

Sales and office occupations by Zip Codes

Natural resources, construction, and maintenance occupations by Zip Codes

Production, transportation, and material moving occupations by Zip Codes

pared to the previous decade. Zip Codes 90008 and 90042 continued to stand out for their substantial concentration of workers in management, business, science, and arts occupations, with percentages soaring to 38.50% and 69.20%, respectively. This significant increase suggests a growing emphasis on these professional roles within these areas. Zip Codes 90033 and 90056 also experienced remarkable growth in these management-related roles, with 20.60% and 56.40%, respectively, indicating an increasing focus on these industries. In contrast, Zip Code 90063 displayed a more balanced employment distribution, with a notable increase in management roles, reaching 59.90%. Additionally, Zip Codes 90041 and 90023 witnessed a resurgence in service occupations, demonstrating the adaptability of their workforces to changing demands. Zip Code 90026 retained its focus on management roles but saw a substantial increase in service occupations, reflecting a dynamic labor market. The variations in employment distribution across these Zip Codes reflect evolving economic landscapes, influenced by factors such as industry demands and the evolving nature of work in these areas.

Housing Characteristics

Housing Tenure

The time series analysis of occupancy characteristics in the selected ten Zip Codes from 2011 to 2021 provides valuable insights into the potential presence of gentrification in these communities. Gentrification is a complex process driven by various socio-economic factors, and while the data doesn't definitively confirm or negate the presence of gentrification, it offers some observations.

First, the decrease in owner-occupied units in Zip Codes like 90042, 90056, and 90063, as well as the substantial increase in renter-occupied units in Zip Codes 90033 and 90041, suggests a trend towards greater rental housing in these areas. This shift can be indicative of increased demand for rental properties, potentially driven by an influx of higher-income residents attracted by urban amenities and development.

On the other hand, Zip Codes 90026 and 90230 experienced a modest increase in owner-occupied units, which could suggest efforts to stabilize or maintain homeownership in these communities. Gentrification often involves displacement of long-term, lower-income residents, and a decrease in renter-occupied units may signify an increase in housing costs that could displace existing residents.

It is important to note that gentrification is a multifaceted process, and these changes in occupancy alone do not provide a complete picture. Additional factors such as changes in property values, businesses, and the demographic composition of these communities would be necessary for a more comprehensive analysis.

In summary, the occupancy trends observed in the time series analysis may indicate potential gentrification in some Zip Codes, but further research and a broader set of socio-economic indicators would be required to draw more definitive conclusions about the presence and extent of gentrification in these neighborhoods.

Dwelling By Move in Year

The analysis of dwelling units by move-in year in 2011 provides valuable insights into the housing turnover and potential patterns of neighborhood change in the selected Zip Codes. The data shows the distribution of occupied housing units based on the year residents moved in, with a focus on different time periods.

One noticeable trend is the relatively high percentage of residents who moved in during the years 2005 or later in Zip Codes 90001, 90008, 90023, 90026, 90033, 90041, 90042, 90063, and 90230. This could indicate recent population turnover or possibly new housing developments in these areas, suggesting that they may be experiencing some degree of urban revitalization. This trend is especially prominent in Zip Codes 90008, 90026, and 90033, indicating potentially rapid changes in these neighborhoods.

On the other hand, there are Zip Codes, like 90056 and 90230, where a significant proportion of residents moved in during the 1970s and 1980s. This suggests a more stable and long-standing community with a lower housing turnover rate.

Overall, the data on housing move-in years highlights the varying degrees of neighborhood change and the potential presence of gentrification. However, it is important to note that other factors, such as changes in property values and demographics, would need to be considered for a comprehensive analysis of gentrification in these neighborhoods. in 2021 provides insights into the housing turnover and potential patterns of neighborhood change in the selected Zip Codes. The data reveals the distribution of occupied housing units based on the year residents moved in, offering a view of different time periods.

Compared to the 2011 data, there are notable shifts in the move-in years, indicating evolving housing dynamics. In Zip Code 90001, there has been an increase in the percentage of residents who moved in from 2019 or later, potentially suggesting recent population turnover. This trend is also no-

ticeable in Zip Codes 90008, 90026, and 90033, highlighting a possible continuation of urban revitalization.

Interestingly, in Zip Codes 90056 and 90230, a substantial proportion of residents moved in during the 1980s or earlier, indicating long-standing and stable communities. This contrasts with the high turnover observed in some other areas.

Overall, the data on housing move-in years in 2021 points to changes in the neighborhoods, but as with the 2011 data, it is important to consider additional factors, including property values and demographics, for a comprehensive analysis of gentrification. The differing patterns in housing turnover between the Zip Codes suggest that neighborhood dynamics continue to evolve, with some areas experiencing more significant changes than others.

The time series comparison indicates some noteworthy trends in the housing dynamics within these Zip Codes over the decade.

2019 or Later Move-Ins: In 2021, there is an increase in residents who moved into their homes in 2019 or later, particularly in Zip Codes 90001, 90026, and 90056. This suggests new residents entering these areas, potentially due to urban development or revitalization.

2000s Move-Ins: There is a noticeable shift in the 2000s move-ins in some Zip Codes, such as 90008, 90023, and 90033. This indicates that a significant portion of residents moved in during the early 2000s, potentially as part of gentrification processes.

Stability in Move-In Patterns: Zip Codes 90056 and 90230 maintain a substantial proportion of residents who moved in during the 1980s or earlier in both 2011 and 2021, suggesting stable and long-standing communities.

Variability Across Zip Codes: The different trends in move-in years across Zip Codes highlight the heterogeneous nature of urban neighborhoods, with some experiencing more significant changes than others. These observations provide valuable insights into housing dynamics and potential gentrification trends, but further analysis is needed to determine the precise drivers of these changes in each Zip Code.

Rent/Household Income-Ratio

The data from 2011 paints a varied picture of housing affordability within the selected Zip Codes. Notably, Zip Code 90056 and 90042 are characterized by a higher proportion of households spending less than 15.0 percent of their income on rent, indicating a relatively affordable housing situation in these areas. Conversely, Zip Code 90008 exhibits the highest percentage of households allocating 35.0 percent or more of their income to rent, suggesting pronounced affordability challenges within this locality.

Furthermore, Zip Code 90230 had a significant representation of households in the 15.0 to 19.9 percent and 20.0 to 24.9 percent categories, implying that a substantial portion of residents in this area allocated a moderate to significant share of their income towards housing expenses. On the other hand, Zip Code 90041 had the highest representation in the 30.0 to 34.9 percent category, signifying that a substantial proportion of households in this area directed a relatively larger portion of their income to housing costs, highlighting potential affordability challenges.

These findings underscore the nuanced disparities in housing affordability within the selected Zip Codes. The prevalence of households with affordable rent-to-income ratios in some areas contrasts with the challenges faced by residents in locales where a substantial portion of their income is dedicated to meeting housing costs. These observations reflect the complex socio-economic dynamics present in these communities, shedding light on the factors that influence housing affordability in 2011.

A comparative analysis with the 2011 data reveals several noteworthy trends. Zip Code 90026 witnessed a substantial increase in households allocating 15.0 percent or less of their income to rent, indicating an improvement in housing affordability in this area over the decade. Conversely, Zip Code 90041 continued to exhibit a significant proportion of households allocating 30.0 to 34.9 percent of their income to rent, suggesting persistent affordability challenges. The data further reveals that Zip Code 90033 experienced an increase in households allocating 35.0 percent or more of their income to rent, indicating a worsening affordability situation.

Comparing the two years, Zip Code 90230 demonstrated a consistent proportion of households allocating 15.0 to 19.9 percent of their income to rent, suggesting a relatively stable housing affordability situation over the decade. In contrast, Zip Code 90008 saw an increase in households allocating 35.0 percent or more of their income to rent, implying escalating housing affordability challenges.

Overall, the 2021 data highlights the shifting dynamics of housing affordability within these Zip Codes, indicating improvements in some areas but persistent or exacerbated challenges in others. These findings underscore the evolving nature of housing conditions in these communities and emphasize the importance of tailored policy interventions to address housing affordability disparities effectively.

Home Prices

In the analysis of home values for the selected Zip Codes during the years 2011 and 2021, several noteworthy trends emerged. In 2011, Zip Code 90033 exhibited a considerable concentration of owner-occupied units in the $300,000 to $499,999 and $500,000 to $999,999 value categories, indicating a growing mid-range and upscale housing market. Similarly, Zip Code 90008 experienced a substantial increase in owner-occupied units, primarily in the $500,000 to $999,999 and $1,000,000 or more categories, signifying a notable rise in upscale housing options. Zip Code 90041 demonstrated a high proportion of owner-occupied units within the $300,000 to $499,999 and $500,000 to $999,999 value ranges, reflecting a housing market with a significant number of mid-range and upscale properties.

Conversely, Zip Code 90230 showcased a substantial concentration of owner-occupied units in the $500,000 to $999,999 and $1,000,000 or more value categories, indicating a housing market with a focus on higher-end properties. In 2021, Zip Code 90033 continued to have a high concentration of owner-occupied units in the $300,000 to $499,999 and $500,000 to $999,999 value ranges, suggesting stability in the mid-range and upscale housing market. Zip Code 90008 maintained its notable increase in owner-occupied units with values of $500,000 to $999,999 and $1,000,000 or more, reinforcing the presence of upscale housing options.

Zip Code 90041 saw a consistent prevalence of owner-occupied units within the $300,000 to $499,999 and $500,000 to $999,999 categories, confirming the availability of mid-range and upscale properties. Zip Code 90230 continued to have a substantial concentration of owner-occupied units in the $500,000 to $999,999 and $1,000,000 or more value categories, highlighting its focus on higher-end properties. These trends signify the evolving nature of the housing market over the decade, with variations in the proportion of owner-occupied units across different value categories, thus catering to the diverse preferences and needs of homeowners within these Zip Codes.

Social Characteristics

By Race and Ethnicity

A comparison of the demographic data between the years 2011 and 2021 for the selected zip codes reveals several notable shifts in the ethnic composition of these areas. In 2011, Zip Code 90001 was predominantly Mexican (74.70%), but by 2021, this population had decreased significantly to 13.90%. Zip Code 90008 witnessed a major transformation, with a substantial increase in the Black or African American population from 64.70% in 2011 to 66.10% in 2021.

For Zip Code 90023, the Mexican population remained the majority, albeit with a slight decrease from 83.70% in 2011 to 83.40% in 2021. Zip Code 90026 displayed a noticeable increase in its White population, rising from 28.00% in 2011 to 28.70% in 2021. Similarly, Zip Code 90033 experienced an increase in the White population from 2.60% in 2011 to 30.70% in 2021.

A substantial decrease in the Black or African American population was observed in Zip Code 90041, with a decrease from 66.10% in 2011 to 1.90% in 2021. Zip Code 90042 experienced a significant decrease in the Mexican population from 41.20% in 2011 to 21.80% in 2021 and a substantial increase in the White population from 21.80% in 2011 to 30.70% in 2021. Zip Code 90056 displayed a substantial decrease in its Mexican population from 6.20% in 2011 to 10.50% in 2021 and an increase in the White population from 10.50% in 2011 to 37.70% in 2021. Zip Code 90063 showed a notable decrease in the Mexican population from 85.30% in 2011 to 2.70% in 2021 and a decrease in the Black or African American population from 9.20% in 2011 to 0.30% in 2021.

Overall, these changes reflect a dynamic shift in the ethnic makeup of these areas over the decade, with significant changes in the representation of Mexican, White, Black or African American, and Asian populations. Understanding these demographic shifts is vital for policymakers and community leaders to address the evolving needs of these communities and promote inclusivity and diversity.

Social Demographics by Zip Codes 2011

Social Demographics by Zip Codes 2021
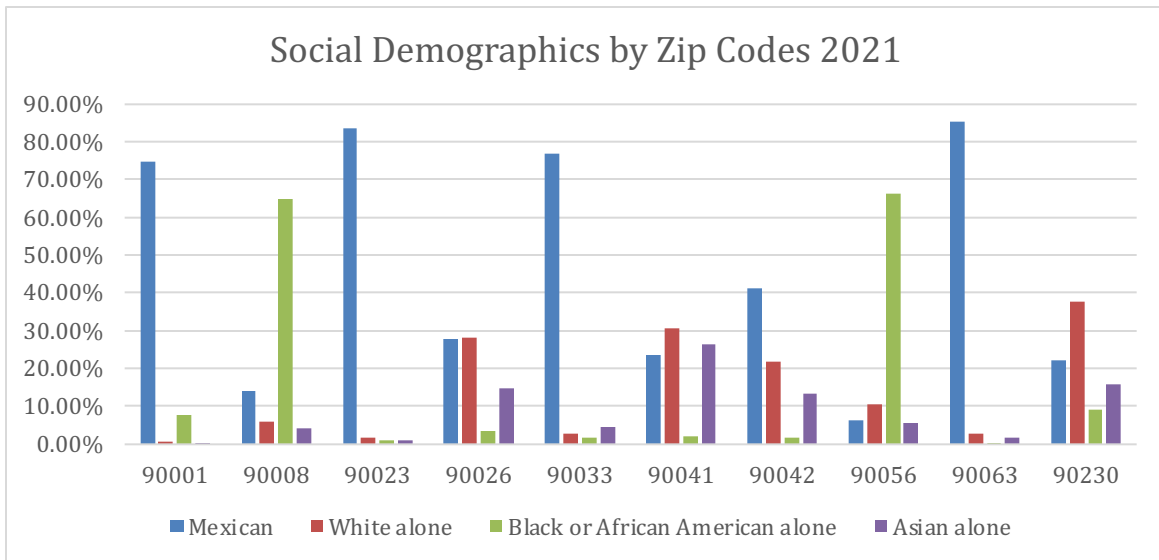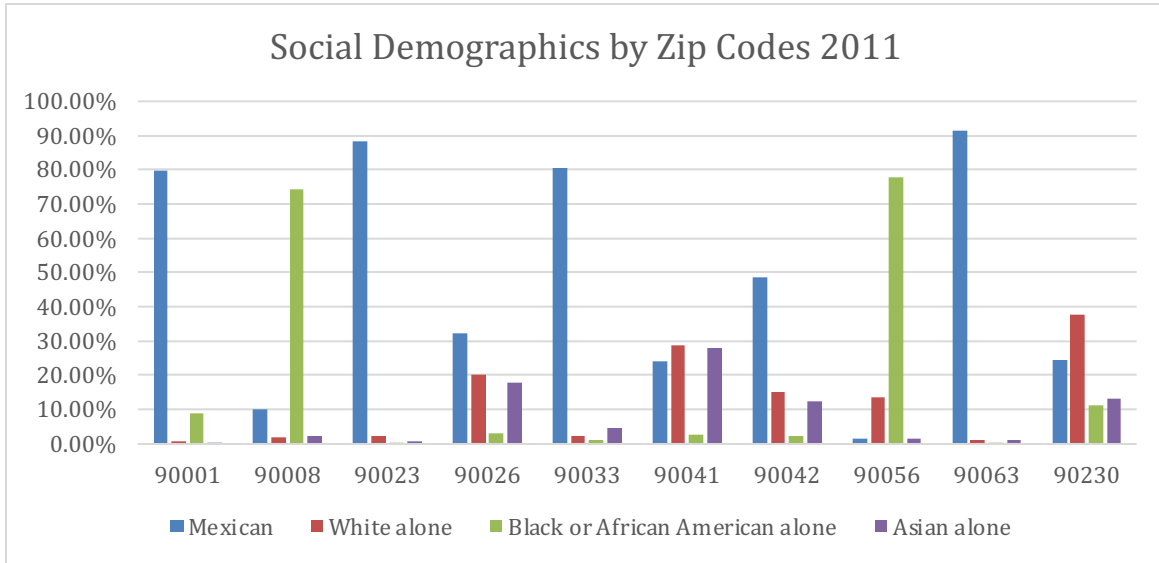
References

Brummet, Q., & Reed, D. (2019, July 17). The effects of gentrification on the well-being and opportunity of original resident adults and children. SSRN. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3421581

Boyle Heights Historical Society. (n.d.). https://bhhsla.com/

Boarnet, Marlon et al. (2020). Residential Moves Into and Away from Los Angeles Rail Transit Neighborhoods: Adding Insight to the Gentrification and Displacement Debate.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (n.d.). CPI inflation calculator. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. https://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl

Chapple, K., Loukaitou-Sideris, A., Gonzalez, S. R., Kadin, D., Poirier, J., University of California, Berkeley. Center for Community Innovation, University of California, L. A., & Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies. (2017, September 1). Transit-Oriented Development & Commercial Gentrification : Exploring the linkages. Welcome to ROSA P. https://rosap.ntl.bts.gov/view/dot/32904

Echo Park: Los Angeles, California. American Planning Association. (2008). https://www.planning.org/greatplaces/neighborhoods/2008/echopark.htm

Shaw, K. S., & Hagemans, I. W. (2015). Gentrification Without Displacement And The Consequent Loss of Place: The Effects of Class Transition on Low-income Residents of Secure Housing in Gentrifying Areas. International Journal of Urban And Regional Research, 323-340. 10.1111/1468-2427.12164

Lees, L. (2000). A reappraisal of gentrification: Towards a 'geography of gentrification'. Progress in Human Geography, 24(3), 389-408.

Maps and Geography. COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES. (n.d.). https://lacounty.gov/government/about-la-county/maps-and-geography/

Myers, D., & Park, J. (n.d.). How do shortages lead to Dislodgement and Disappearing Renters?. Population Dynamics Research Group. https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/sites.usc.edu/dist/6/210/files/2019/08/HRB-6-How-Do-Shortages-Lead-to-Dislodgement-and-Disappearing-Renters.pdf

Starkey, S. (2019, September 24). Leimert Park. SAH ARCHIPEDIA. https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/CA-01-037-0007

Los Angeles Times. (n.d.). Mapping L.A. Neighborhoods. Los Angeles Times. https://maps.latimes.com/neighborhoods/index.html

Robbett, A. (2014). Local institutions and the dynamics of community sorting. American Economic Journal: Microeconomics, 6(3), 136-156.

HWANG, J. (2015). Gentrification in Changing Cities: Immigration, New Diversity, and Racial Inequality in Neighborhood Renewal. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 660, 319–340.

McKinnish, T., Walsh, R., & White, T. K. (2009, August 27). Who gentrifies low-income neighborhoods?. Journal of Urban Economics. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0094119009000588?casa_token=LDwtiowUs4AAAAA%3AHfmi2BHKR_NpqnD7uH6i3vByQ6bNMsAR_CnVqBxWLJysMCp6yJ8cpXlUeqVrShH5ByGvX-CZx

Highland Park: One of Los Angeles' first suburbs. KCET. (2010, October 5). https://www.kcet.org/shows/departures/highland-park-one-of-los-angeles-first-suburbs

Kamin, D. (2019, November 12). Echo Park, Los Angeles: Density, with a sprinkling of nature. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/12/realestate/echo-park-los-angeles-density-with-a-sprinkling-of-nature.html#:~:text=Echo%20Park%20Lake%20was%20originally,up%20to%20World%20War%20II.

Hernandez, J. (2018). California Environmental Quality Act Lawsuits and California's Housing Crisis . Hastings Environmental Law Journal, 24(1), 21–71.

Chaskin, R.J. and Joseph, M.L. (2013), 'Positive' Gentrification, Social Control and the 'Right to the City' in Mixed-Income Communities: Uses and Expectations of Space and Place. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37: 480-502.

Hwang, J. (2016). Pioneers of Gentrification: Transformation in Global Neighborhoods in Urban America in the Late Twentieth Century. Demography, 53(1), 189–213.

Ladera. Ladera | Council District 11. (n.d.). https://councildistrict11.lacity.gov/neighborhoods/ladera#:~:text=The%20first%20homes%20built%20in,Dupac.

Lee, Hyojung. and Perkins, K.L. The Geography of Gentrification and Residential Mobility. Gentrification and Residential Mobility, 1-32.

Gale, D. E. (2021). The misunderstood history of gentrification : People, planning, preservation, and urban renewal, 1915-2020. Temple University Press.

Smith, G.S., Breakstone, H., Dean, L.T. et al. Impacts of Gentrification on Health in the US: a Systematic Review of the Literature. J Urban Health 97, 845–856 (2020).

Zukin, S. (2016). Gentrification in Three Paradoxes. City & Community, 15(3), 202–207.

Dubin, Jon C. (1993). FROM JUNKYARDS TO GENTRIFICATION: EXPLICATING A RIGHT TO PROTECTIVE ZONING IN LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES OF COLOR. Minnesota Law Review.

Agbai, C. O. (2021). Shifting neighborhoods, shifting health: A longitudinal analysis of gentrification and health in Los Angeles County. Social Science Research, 100, 102603–102603.

Haberle, M., & House, S. (Eds.). (2021). Moving Beyond the Market: Community Ownership and the Right to Housing. In Racial Justice in Housing Finance: A Series on New Directions (pp. 71–104). Poverty & Race Research Action Council. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep32132.6

Meares, H. (2023, May 5). Baldwin Hills, "the black beverly hills": The Life and Times of the Community. LAist. https://laist.com/news/la-history/baldwin-hills-the-black-beverly-hills-the-life-and-times-of-the-community

Williams, S. A., & Hipp, J. R. (n.d.). The shape of neighborhoods to come: Examining patterns of gentrification and holistic neighborhood change in Los Angeles County, 1980–2010. Sage Journals. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0308518X211053642

Zukin, S. (2016). Gentrification in Three Paradoxes. City & Community, 15(3), 202–207. https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12184

Manville, M., Monkkonen, P., Lens, M., & Green, R. (2020). COVID-19 and renter distress: evidence from Los Angeles.

Myers, D., & Park, J. (2019). How Do Shortages Lead to Dislodgement and Disappearing Renters.

O'Regan, K. M. (2016). Commentary: A federal perspective on gentrification - JSTOR. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/26328277.pdf